1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance.

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties.

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters.

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk

645 of a Municipal Council composed of merchants and notabilities being formed in Mukalla, but it did not seem likely that it would eventuate.

636 The Sultanate is divided into five *liwas* or provinces. Shihr, the oldest, Mukalla, Du'an, Hajr, and Shibam. Each of these provinces is ruled on behalf of the Sultan by a salaried Governor or *Muqaddam*, who has at least one paid clerk. He has direct control over the Qu'aiti towns in his province, and in important ones which are not autonomous there is a sub-Governor responsible to the Governor of the province. Subject to the general orders of His Highness the *Muqaddam* has power to settle any case in the province, but there is an appeal to the *Wazir* and Governor of Mukalla. From the judgments and decisions of the *Wazir* appeal lies to His Highness.

631 632 635 642 There are a number of autonomous towns throughout the Hadhramaut governed by particular tribes or families, and the Central Government does not interfere in their internal affairs. Relations with the tribes over the country are conducted principally through the Governors on whose towns they economically depend. The Sultan has the two following types of agreements with the various tribes: A. Engagements containing an undertaking to respond to the call of the Sultan in any matter and at any time, and B. Engagements of *bon voisinage* and friendship containing an undertaking to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. These agreements are all written.

The following tribes have A. agreements: Tamimi, Manahil, Ath Tha'yani, Awābitha, Seibani, Beni Hasan, 'Akābira, Muhammadiyin, Sumūh, Al Bab Sura, Hālka, Nūwah, Mahfudh, Makhashin, the Hadhrami Yafa'is, Hāmdi, Beni Daghār, and Buheish.

The following tribes have B. agreements: Hamumi, Qarzi, Sha'āmila, Bahasan, Ma'āra, Jōhi, 'Awāmir, Ash Shenafir al Kathīr, Mahra, Nahd Rodhān, Sei'ar, Ad Deiyin, Ja'da, Baheith, Namāra Beni Hilāl, 'Awāleq, Hājib Beni Sa'd, Bahanaf, Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Senad al Murqashi, Ba Habāb, Meseiliyin, 'Asārina, Āl Sūeid and Āl Mubarek, Beni 'Utheiman, Bā Bakr and Āl Zaghīb, tribesmen of Sadf, Al 'Amūdi, Ash Shof, Beduins of Shāūla, Āl Beihan al 'Awāmir, Al Khashia al Murqashi, Deiyeb, Qumeish, and Bā Bekr.

661 431 642 When there is any doubt as to the loyalty of a particular tribe, hostages have to be provided who are kept in Mukalla prison, at Du'an, and sometimes at Shihr. Hostages may be changed every month. Presents are given and subsidies paid to some of the tribes, and on the visits of tribal *'Aqils* to provincial headquarters they are given presents, and in some cases entertained.

642 632 The Qu'aiti administration makes no attempt to interfere with tribal usages, but tribal usage does not run in the Qu'aiti towns and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

pools built by the rich and progressive class of Seyyeds, whose many innovations have re-made the face of this ancient land of the Queen of Sheba.

The political frontiers of the Kathiri State describe a finger pointed downward from the Rub-al-Khali into the heart of Hadhramaut. They enclose an area of some six thousand square miles and a population of sixty thousand, a third of whom dwell in the city of Seiyun. The state's current average annual revenue runs close to $100,000.[1]

Early Kathiri history is obscure. Forebears of the present sultan once controlled all of Hadhramaut, but in the eighteenth century the al-Quaiti, an immigrant tribe of Yemeni origin, wrested control of the coastal region from their Kathiri overlords at Seiyun and gradually established hegemony over interior tribes until today the Quaiti State comprises nearly the whole of Hadhramaut. Until the "Peace of Ingrams,"[2] modern Kathiri history was dominated by constant and costly warfare between Seiyun and the parvenu Quaiti power at Mukalla.

The present Kathiri ruler, His Highness Sultan Husayn Ali Ibn Mansur, succeeded to the throne on May 22, 1950, and was one of the five Aden chiefs selected to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.[3] It is through Sultan Husayn's generous and patient correspondence that much of this statistical information concerning his far-off land has been gathered.

Political organization in the Kathiri State is patterned closely after administrative machinery in Malaya.[4] Executive authority is vested in the sultan assisted by a Council of State of which the ruler is president and the British Resident an ex-officio member. The Council's remaining members include: the Kathiri State Secretary (*Wazir*) and heads of the departments of the Treasury, Customs, Education and Judiciary, in addition to four un-

[1] In 1951 the East African shilling, worth about $0.14, replaced the Indian rupee as legal tender in the Protectorate.

[2] William Harold Ingrams, last of the old-style empire-builders, did much to pacify and organize modern Hadhramaut in the years 1934–44. He was the first Resident Adviser to the states of Hadhramaut and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. To him, Hadhramis have given the name, "Peace-maker of the Desert."

[3] Others invited: the sultans of Mukalla, Lahej, Shuqra and the Amir of Dhala, the latter three, prominent chiefs of the Western Aden Protectorate.

[4] Ingrams visited Singapore in 1940 to study the operation of local governments in the Malay States for ways of stepping-up efficiency in native rule in the Hadhramaut.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps[6] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements[8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[6] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Qaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Advisor Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Advisor to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

19 Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1936 MMS Hadhramaut MMS

in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *kadi* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

443 passed through this unknown world, and the desire and hope, until now cautiously suppressed, grew unconsciously within us, to enter the land that lay behind the town and to learn to know its people.

2. THE VIZIER SAYYID ABŪ BAKR BIN ḤUSĒN EL-MIḤḌĀR.

645 [643] We made acquaintance, the morning after our arrival, with the Vizier, who, in the absence of the Sultan, deals with state affairs. Sayyid Abū Bakr bin Ḥusēn el-Miḥḍār is a man in the prime of life; he is energetic, has a congenial, alert personality, and shows absolutely no sign of opposition to the *Naṣrānīs*, the *Efrendjīs*. The heavy task of governing the Qe-
645 565 175 ᶜēṭī Sultanate falls chiefly upon his solid shoulders. His popularity is supported doubly by tradition: in the first place, as sayyid he belongs to the class of spiritual and worldly leaders, for he is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and, in the second place, the house of Abū Bakr was, six generations ago, the most influential family of Ḥaḍramaut.[1] In an evil hour, in their struggle against the Bedouin tribes, they called in the help of the Yāfiᶜ, a tribe noted for its fighting qualities. Its Sultan sent help under one Qeᶜēṭī, who, after having delivered the sayyids of the el-Miḥḍār family from their enemies, took the leadership into his own hands. The power of his family expanded. In 1874 the Qeᶜēṭīs asked the British Government in Aden to intervene for the purpose of reaching a settlement in a war, which had arisen over the refusal of the Āl Kathīr to repay a sum of money which had been lent to them. On this occasion Makalla and esh-Shiḥr were, with the help of the British, taken away from the Kathīrī Sultan and handed over to the Qeᶜēṭī, but the family of el-Miḥḍār had remained the leading one of that region.

701 The Vizier declared that he had *no* objection to our journey
565 into the interior. The route via Wādī Dōᶜan was safe, provided

[1] Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 75; *A Handbook of Arabia*, i. (London, 1920), p. 542 *sq.*

648 Resident Adviser was to organize a modern administration. This did not mean, as was stressed by Ingrams, the first Resident Adviser, that direct British administration was to be set up. Quite to the contrary, local inhabitants should be used as far as possible. (11) Due to the

11. There was some apprehension in Mukalla that the appointment of a Resident Adviser would mean direct British rule. This is shown by the proclamation of the Sultan of 22 October 1937 in which he took occasion to deny rumors that Britain had taken over his country; of. Oriente Moderno, 18 (1938) p. 42.

small number of trained native officials, however, the administration services are to a considerable extent staffed with British experts. (12)

12. More use could be made of native officials in Mukalla than in Seyun. E.g. the treasurer of Mukalla is an Arab, whereas a British official, the so-called Financial Officer, is in charge of financial affairs in Seyun; of. Ingrams, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

645 In 1939, again following the Malayan precedent, a State Council was
648 set up in Mukalla. It is presided over by the Sultan and consists of the Resident Adviser, the State Secretary, and two nominated Arabian
648 members. (13) The council acts as the Sultan's cabinet. These

13. Ingrams, ibid., p. 349.

agreements have thus served to increase Great Britain's control of the internal as well as external affairs of the two most important states in the Hadramaut. Even if the actual administrative machinery should be handled by natives to a larger extent than is now the case, the Resident Adviser could always prevent the conduct of affairs along lines of which the British government does not approve. Besides his functions described above the Resident Adviser is in charge of British relations with all states in the Eastern Protectorate under the control of the Governor.

The administration of the Aden Protectorate as a whole

6:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and the Sheikhdoms of Irqa and Haura, all of which have been for many years in protective treaty relations with His Majesty's Government. His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al-Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla, is the premier chief in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut is the most important and best organised of these areas. It is bounded on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates and on the east by the Mahri Sultanate.

The Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Socotra is the most easterly area in the Aden Protectorate, being bounded on the east by the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The Sultan of Qishn and Socotra resides on the island of Socotra, which lies off Africa, 150 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island was occupied by the East India Company in 1834, and it came under British protection, together with the neighbouring Abdel Kuri and Brothers Islands, in 1866, when the treaty with the Mahri Sultan was concluded. Socotra produces aloes, dragons' blood and ghee. The population is probably about 5,000; the island is rather less than 100 miles from east to west and about 30 miles broad. Its interior is mountainous, and the Fidahan Hajr rises to nearly 5,000 feet. The capital is Hadibu, shown on European maps as Tamarida.

The interests of the Western Aden Protectorate are looked after by a small cadre of British political officers and Arab assistant political officers under a British Agent, whose headquarters are in Aden. The political staff who are posted to administrative districts inland advise the local rulers on the administration of their areas, since His Majesty's Government does not administer the Protectorate directly.

The tribes nominate their own chiefs, who have subsequently to be recognised by the Governor of Aden. Not all the chiefs have complete control over their subjects, but since 1943 the authority of some of them has been greatly increased by the introduction of simple administrative machinery. For internal security some of the chiefs have Tribal Guards (paid for by His Majesty's Government as a temporary measure) under the joint control of the British Agent and the chief. In 1937 the Aden Government raised a force known as the Government Guards for police duties in the Western Aden Protectorate; they are stationed inland in fixed posts and are paid for and controlled entirely by Government.

The Western Aden Protectorate consists of the following tribal districts:

ABDALI: His Highness Sultan Fadhl bin Abdul Karim Fadhl, Sultan of Lahej, the premier Chief of the western area. *Capital*: Lahej.

AMIRI: Amir Nasr bin Shaif, C.M.G. *Capital*: Dhala.

FADHLI: Sultan Abdullah bin Uthman. *Capital*: Shuqra.

LOWER YAFA'I: Sultan 'Aidrus bin Muhsin. *Capital*: Al Qara.

HAUSHABI: Sultan Mohammad bin Sarur. *Capital*: Museimir.